121 /5 cont./ The head of the adat community of Borongloë,
[63] one of the approximately ten adat communities which formed the province of Goa, was to be my host. I was able to agree to the choice of this adat community of around 14, 000 individuals, since the location in relation to Macassar was favorable; since the head was an energetic young man who made a pleasant impression on /6/ me and who, moreover, knew Dutch, a circumstance which could only facilitate the first contact; and finally, since, as soon became apparent to me, in this region there were no special vexations or corruptions, which frequently create an atmosphere hindering an investigation.

123 The investigator who has found a place to live in the kampong can henceforth avoid the old "adat experts" with great ease. As elsewhere in Indonesia, they constitute a barrier between the investigator and the object of his investigation.

[115] My host was a figure full of vitality who could not possible sit at home for any length of time and who preferred to roam through his domain, talking everywhere, settling things, and
[62] drinking coffee. His roving nature had the advantage that I was introduced to many houses of all 14 kampongs of the adat community in the most pleasant way imaginable and thus received a rough general view of what went on. It had the disadvantage that there could be no question of regular daily conversations of any length concerning the facts observed by myself.

At his house I became acquainted with the manner in which this headman's kin group /familie/ treated its servants and other underlings, and I received a first insight into Makassarese kin group /familie/ and nuclear family /gezin/ relationships. Not till then did the important position that the group of relatives /ver wantengroep/ occupies in Makassarese life among those of higher as well as of low /social status/ become clear to me. Therefore, not until then was it possible to attempt a closer analysis and to look around for a group of relatives that could be considered for this purpose.

121 /6 cont./ My choice of a group in kampong Bontoramba (1)

[621] 1. One of the 14 kampongs that form the adat community of Borongloë.

was mainly determined by three factors. in the first place this group seemed to display a great amount of cohesion; it had already repeatedly become apparent to me that members of this group were married to each other. In the second place, the kampong head, a prominent man in this group, had seemed favorably disposed toward me on a number of occasions. Thirdly, one of my best informants was married to the daughter of that [115] head. And, finally, the kampong was located so that, compared with many of the others, it was within easy reach.

121 In writing up data it had become evident to me earlier that indefinite quantitative adjectives had to be called in repeatedly 125 to describe /7/ relationships without the picture of the related group becoming clear at the same time; the "many" unmarried women, the "few" divorces, the "regular" occurrence of marriages by flight, and the "frequent" marriages of members of the same generation, all these statements are, in the end, not very meaningful. A kampong survey in which attention was paid to all these points seemed to be the best method of obtaining a clearer insight into a great variety of relationships. The first survey took place as early as 1940. However, the material was lost. Not until 1948 did the opportunity present itself to repeat the survey. A kampong territory has fixed boundaries, and since neither the worship of ornaments, the grouping of statuses, nor, finally, kin relationship offered a foothold, I chose this territorial unit as the starting point for further research.

125 The registration took place from house to house and was carried out on the basis of the following questions: 1. the names of the inhabitants of the house; 2. their mutual kin relationship; 3. their place of birth; 4. their kin relationship to the head

125 /7 cont./ of the kampong. In case someone was not related to the Kapala or his wife, it was established whether he was related to a certain Mangenre, who, as soon became evident to me, occupied a central position in a group of relatives of around 100 Buginese. If this did not appear to be the case either, I looked for kinship connections with neighboring houses. In this way a first general view of the size of the groups of relatives in one kampong territory came into focus.

July 1, 1948 was chosen as the date for the survey.

125 In further analysis of the data it appeared that the mobility
166 which had already been noted for the adat community head and which actually was regarded as a troublesome quality by him personally was a trait occurring generally in Makassarese society. This mobility, however, was not reflected in the original figures. For this reason a second survey was carried out a year after the first one. At this time the names of the occupants of the houses were noted down again, and, in cases where there was a divergence from the compilation of the previous year, the reason that led to migration was ascertained and the place where the immigrant had come from and to which the emigrant had gone were noted down.

In so doing, I considered as immigrants those who entered the kampong, and as emigrants those who /8/ left it. Finally, those who changed houses within the kampong in the course of the year were registered as transmigrants.

121 The investigation of the related group thus led to a further investigation into a particular quality of the group: its mobility. This mobility ultimately led to an investigation into the migration of the Makassarese into Buginese country and on some aspects concerning the life of such colonists.

[36] Living Conditions

[62] Kampong Bontoramba is an hour from Macassar by bicycle across an asphalt motor road. A stay in the kampong therefore
123 can neither be compared with one on a remote island nor with

621 /15 cont./ Kampong Bontoramba has approximately
[161] 800 residents. There one finds one of the two public schools
[368] which the entire adat community of more than 14,000 individuals boasts. Along the large road a bicycle repair shop has arisen, and there are more coffee warong /shops/ than in many other places. A large group of Buginese, attracted by a
166 great deal of fallow land and good transportation facilities, has built its houses there in the course of the last 20 years. The Makassarese who live there at present arrived no more than 60 years ago. Coming and going never takes place en masse in Makassarese country. In successive stages a pioneer receives more members of his kin group in his house; by successive stages other people move away.

[554 A certain period of settlement by a large group is /16/
565] noted mostly when a man of high nobility moves and many follow him. Formerly, in periods of insecurity for the individual, this was probably a more usual manner of migration, but today it no longer is. Thus, around 1900, a large number of kinsmen coming from kampong Pakatto, situated eight kilometers further up the road, settled in Bontoramba. As kinsmen
[621] /familiele den/ constituting a part of the same related group /ver wantengroep/ they organized themselves anew in Bontoramba and adjusted to the new circumstances, at the same time striving for the realization of the usual Makassarese ideals. To this end, they followed the old Makassarese adat.

The Bilateral Related Group

612 The Makassarese related group /ver wantengroep/ should
621 be described as a bilateral endogamous group of relatives (1)

1. Kin relationship is indicated by the term sibidja or sipamanakkang.

whose members worship their ancestors (pattautoaang) at the places and times designated, and at the same time as a group

→

612/621 /16 cont./ living together in the same territory (pa'rasangang), whose members till the soil. Two pairs of opposing tendencies are observable here. In contrast to a striving toward endogamy, a much weaker striving to enter into marriage with non-kinsmen can be observed. In contrast to a striving to live together in the same territory, there exists an urge to disperse.

631 The Makassarese-Buginese section of the daërah /district/ of South Celebes is at present divided into provinces. Each /landsdrap/ consists of a number of territorial units, frequently called adat communities /adatgemeenschappen/. Each adat community in turn consists of a number of territorial units frequently called kampongs. The boundaries between provinces, between adat communities, and between kampongs are fixed on maps. This is a situation which anyone can immediately notice.

114 602 In addition it repeatedly appears in the literature that the writers are conscious of the fact that kin relationship plays a very important role among the Makassarese. The foreigner observes that a Makassarese not only lives with kinsmen in one house, but also that he has kinsmen scattered throughout the country./17/ But no statements can be found in the literature with regard to the precise nature of kin relationship and its relation to the clearly discernible territorial division, and there exist only vague notions among foreigners who have become thoroughly acquainted with South Celebes, as well as among the Makassarese themselves.

124 Therefore, in carrying out this investigation, it was not possible to isolate a certain group of relatives as an object of observation; the boundary lines were always vague. The only form of grouping which was clearly outlined and which could therefore better serve as a starting point was the territorial one (1).

124 /17 cont./ who now wished to improve his position by being
612 regarded as a distant kinsman of the Kapala. It was the
daughter of the Kapala himself who made it clear to him that
[608] his opinion could not possibly be correct. /18/ Furthermore,
[609] the strangers, that is to say, the non-kinsmen married to a member of the Kapala group, whose children thus also belonged to this group, were likewise counted among the Kapala related group.

In the sole instance in which -- while the married couple
124 were not related to each other -- individual kinsmen of the
612 man, as well as of the woman (who belonged to the Kapala
592 group), lived in their house, the man's kinsmen were not included in the Kapala group; he himself was.

Aside from traceable relatives, a number of relatives by
124 marriage were therefore also counted among the related group.
612 The latter should accordingly be defined more accurately as a traditional bilateral endogamous group of relatives.

Among the Buginese, none of whom were related to the Kapala, a prominent man called Mangenre was used for the same purpose as the Kapala in the first group, so that with respect to the occupants of a number of houses, it can be said that they belong to Mangenre's group of relatives. With regard to the occupants of the remaining houses, the mutual kinship
[128] relationship, insofar as it existed, could then be easily established. For the sake of convenience, the first group will be called the Kapala group, the second the Mangenre group, and the last the Rest group.

The result of this investigation showed that of a total of 129
●621 houses, the Kapala group occupied 81, the Mangenre group 18, and that the Rest group lived in the remaining 30 houses.
[612] The latter's members belonged to 13 different groups of relatives. The members of one group of the Rest group lived distributed over nine houses; those a second group over five houses, and those of a third over three houses. In three cases persons related to each other occupied two houses, and in the

621 /18 cont./ remaining seven houses lived persons who, aside from their housemates, had no other kin in Bontoramba.

[602] All these people, however, from the members of the Kapala group to those of the occupants of the seven last-named houses, have kinsmen living outside Bontoramba -- sometimes also outside Borongloë, and sometimes even partly outside Goa. These outside kinsmen sometimes live in small groups of just a few houses, and sometimes in larger numbers. Summarizing the genealogical picture of the kampong territory 612 621 /19/ of Bontoramba, it is possible to state that 15 (1) larger

1. 1 group of 81 houses.
   1 group of 18 houses.
   1 group of 9 houses.
   1 group of 5 houses.
   1 group of 3 houses.
   3 groups of 2 houses.
   7 groups of 1 house. A total, therefore, of 15 different groups of relatives over a total of 129 houses. This count took place between June 25 and July 1, 1948.

and smaller segments of groups of relatives live together there. All individuals at the same time possess elsewhere, that is to say, outside of Bontoramba, one or more other, larger or smaller, segments of their groups of relatives. Furthermore, it appears that the Kapala group is strongly integrated, the Mangenre group weakly integrated, and that the Rest group cannot be called integrated at all.

This result displays a divergence from the definition of the related group given above in two respects. In the definition, as we have seen, the emphasis was placed upon the existence of a certain unity on the part of a genealogical group and its territory. First of all, one encounters several genealogical

612 19 cont. groups in one territory and, secondly, it appears
621 that a genealogical group lives scattered over several territories. Both deviations from the initially advanced principle demand closer elaboration.

166 In the first place, certain historical factors which contributed
178 to the development of this situation should be pointed out.
621 These are increase in population, greater security since the year 1905, and irrigation by which sawah cultivation became possible in districts hitherto unsuited for this, with the result that migration of small groups took place with much greater frequency than was previously necessary or possible. To an increasing degree, strangers requested permission to settle in a certain kampong territory (2).

2. Such, at least, is the official decree; in practice permission is not asked until the house has already been built and the sawah has already been broken.

621 In the second place, the difference in meaning of the term "kampong territory" at the present time and half a century ago should be pointed out. At that time the boundary of a territory coincided with the boundary of the power exercised by the related group residing in that region. The boundary changed in proportion to the power exercised by this group segment. This applied in the first place to /20/ the boundaries of the present-day kampongs. It also applied to a lesser degree to the boundaries of the present-day adat communities and provinces. After the arrival of the Dutch East Indies Government
621 in the region of the principalities in 1905, maps were made
648 in the course of the first few decades, and the boundaries
631 were indicated on them. The situation at that time was essentially fixed. Within the established boundaries, displacements of power subsequently took place. Territorial and power boundaries, therefore, no longer coincided at that time.

612 /20 cont./ A kampong head was appointed to rule over a
● 621 kampong territory. This head thereby also obtained authority
622 over the members of other groups of relatives which gradually
631 came to live in that territory. Formerly, it is probably true to say, such a new group would have built up a small power center of its own there and would have displaced the existing one. Today such a group must actualize such a striving for power within fixed territorial administrative boundaries. This occurs frequently through a struggle for the headship of the region concerned, whether it is a kampong, an adat community, or a kingdom. The idea remained that a genealogical group should be in command of the territory inhabited by this group, and thus also of all those who lived in it. The striving for this can be observed repeatedly.

612 This striving is always directed primarily against the other
621 group living in the territory which approaches the first-mentioned most closely in standing, in this case, therefore, the Mangenre group. But in view of the fact that this group is small and little integrated, the members of the Kapala group do not feel themselves threatened, and accordingly little is perceptible of their striving.

The same picture that was here given with regard to Bontoramba can also be observed in the majority of the other kampongs. A sample made in 1940 in kampong Pakatta indicated that there two groups of relatives of almost equal size resided in the kampong territory with a few separate households (a very small Rest group, therefore).

The only related group in the adat community which
[634] occupied an entire kampong territory practically by itself was that of the adat community head. Members of this group live distributed over two to three kampong territories. As the headman's group of relatives, however, they stand in contrast to all other Borongloë groups of relatives in the adat community
[567] territory. A few households of slaves (1) and a few separate

1. See below pp. 149 ff.

[567]
612 /20 cont./ households are the only non-kinsmen who live in
621 their kampong territory. /21/ In each case, therefore, one encounters two more or less strongly integrated groups of relatives per territory, with, in addition, a nonintegrated Rest group regarded as small and insignificant.

612 Furthermore, it appeared that members of one and the same related group lived scattered all over South Celebes. In this respect, too, there is therefore no question of unity between a related group and its territory. The reason for this is evident. For this it is first necessary to show how a related group should be conceived.

The territorial division taken as a starting point in the investigation described above has the advantage of making a sharp demarcation possible, namely a division between houses inside and outside the kampong border. The related group as a genealogical unit lacks these sharply defined boundaries. An individual frequently belongs to more than one group of relatives, and people who are closely related to each other, first cousins, for instance, thus often belong not only to a common kin group, but also to mutually distinct ones. This is a direct consequence of the fact that marriages are regularly contracted between people who are not of the same kin group.

582 A child resulting from such a marriage may contract an
611 endogamous marriage either in his father's group of relatives
612 or in that of his mother, because through his father he belongs to the latter's related group, and through his mother to hers. And where father and mother in their turn were born to a man and wife who were not related to each other, the same child can contract an endogamous marriage in any one of the four different groups of relatives of the four grandparents. After all, he belongs to four different groups of relatives.

612 It is clear that a division of the Makassarese into sharply distinguished groups of relatives is fully imaginary.. Each individual belongs to more than one group of relatives and would therefore also have to be apportioned to more than one such

476 602 /38 cont./ Their sense of belonging together is strengthened by this. A household that is apart from the others can request 476 help from a neighbor unrelated to it, in case of an emergency, 558 but the asker suffers a loss of prestige in doing so. Whoever 609 asks for help from a non-kinsman shows himself to be inferior. 592 A household which exists apart thus very easily becomes lower 361 in its standing; it has a difficult and less pleasant existence than a household which forms part of a large related group living close together.

592 612 ● 621 Differences are thus observable between a household which lives isolated or almost isolated and a household that lives in the midst of its kinsmen. Put in another way, there are differences between a small and a large group of relatives, where the household or a single family, as the case may be, appears as the smallest imaginable group of relatives in a certain territory. It seems unnecessary to look for a boundary line between a large and a small related group. We shall here proceed from the assumption that the Rest group consists of smaller groups of relatives (in this case a maximum of 9 houses), and that the Kapala group (81 houses) constitutes a large group of relatives. Three points of difference are then the following:

162 592 In the 81 houses of the Kapala group live an average of 6.5 persons per house; in the 30 houses of the Rest group an average of 5.5 persons per house. This difference becomes understandable if /39/ one notes that in comparison with 7 houses having 2 or 3 occupants in the Kapala group (thus around 9 per cent), there are also 7 such houses among the 30 592 houses of the Rest group (thus 25 per cent). This is because in the 7 houses couples married by silariang (1) live, in many

1. See Chapter III, third part.

166 /50 cont./ thirdly, colonizations. The latter refers to the movements of Makassarese to Buginese districts. /51/

162 1. The Relationship of Place of Residence to Place of Birth
●621 / Of the 803 residents of kampong Bontoramba on July 1, 1949,
166 207 were born outside the kampong. Almost 75 per cent of the total therefore lived in their native kampong (1).

1. Sorokin, in his work Social Mobility (pp. 381 ff.) compares the territorial circulation of individuals in societies of western Europe with that in India. His book was published in 1927, and his figures are a quarter of a century old. From these figures it appears that in West Europe of that time, specifically in France, 57.2 per cent of the rural population was born in the district where it resided at the moment of registration. For India, on the other hand, according to the census of 1901, this percentage was more than 90 per cent. Sorokin draws the conclusion, which moreover was established upon the basis of numerous other data, that western Europe displayed a much greater territorial mobility than India.

Of the 207, 119 were born outside Bontoramba but within the adat community of Borongloë; the rest, 88, or approximately

162 /51 cont./ 9 per cent of the total number of residents,
166 were born outside; 30 individuals (approximately 3.5 per
●621 cent) were born outside Goa Province.

162 The percentage of those born in Bontoramba appears to
166 be greater in the Kapala group, the most settled one, than
612 in the other two groups, namely 82 per cent as against 54
621 per cent in the Mangenre and 52 per cent in the Rest group. The following table makes these percentages clear.

	Total Number of Individuals	Born Outside Bontoramba	Born Outside Bontoramba but Within Boronglole	Born Outside Boronglole but Within Goa	Born Outside Goa	
Kapala Group	536	81	51	28	2	
Mangenre "	94	42	17	5	20	
Rest "	173	84	51	25	8	
Residents of Kampong Bontoramba as of July 1, 1949	803	207	119	58	30	

/52/ The large number of people in the Mangenre group born outside Goa, namely 20 of the 42, is striking. In the Kapala and the Rest group these numbers are 2 and 8 respectively of the 51. An explanation for this is to be found
162 in the fact that their land of origin lies outside Goa; many
166 of them were born there. This trend continues longer than
612 one would expect because people prefer children to be born
621 in the house, or at least in the land, where the mother was
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[844]

/52 cont./ born herself. Women who are pregnant, prefer to return to their homeland Pangkadjene, at least for their first confinement.

Thirty-two of the 51 members of the Kapala group born outside Bontoramba, but within the adat community, come from kampongs bordering on Bontoramba, such as Buttadidi (10) and Songkolo (12), as well as from near-by Borong (9). In the kampongs situated farther away, the numbers are smaller: Parang Banua, 4; Borongkaluku, 3; Bontoa, 2; Bontomanai and Kotjikang, each 1; from the adjoining Pagentungang, 1. Pakatto (9) forms an understandable exception because, as was reported above, it is regarded as the homeland of the members of the Kapala group.

From these figures, therefore, it appears that approximately 80 per cent of the Bontoramba population was born in Bontoramba or its vicinity.

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2. Migrations

It further appeared that kampong residents repeatedly changed houses either for a longer or a shorter period of time. This phenomenon, though it can be observed, is not easily expressed in figures.

[125]

I tried to gain an insight into the number of those who changed houses by carrying out a second kampong survey exactly a year after the first one. The -- in my opinion -- many prolonged visits and other changes that took place in the course of the year where the previous state of affairs had been restored again through subsequent changes could not be covered by this registration. The results obtained in this manner are as follows.

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In 76 of the 133 houses a change in composition took place during the year (from July 1, 1948 through June 30, 1949). Births and deaths were not registered because they were not relevant to this study /53/ of mobility. Divided into the usual three groups, the data showed that 39 of the 81

563 582 /59 cont./ Many young colonists return to the homeland in order to marry. According to the figures I obtained, the percentage of marriages contracted between non-kinsmen among the colonists is only a little higher than in Bontoramba. A small number of marriages was contracted with Buginese. For those who live far away from home for a long period, marriage with neighborhood associates seems tempting.

563 583 In addition the small percentage of silariang marriages is striking. Without closer investigation, it is impossible to indicate a reason for this. "The Buginese marry more easily than we do"; "they do not find silariang so important"; Buginese ideas were formulated and compared with their own notions on this point in this way. It may well be that the small percentage of silariang marriages is a reflection of the fact that the Makassarese have in part accepted these Buginese ideas.

342 563 184 The houses of these colonists are smaller and stand on lower posts than those of their Buginese fellow kampong residents; the walls are frequently made of atap, while the Buginese have wooden or bamboo walls. On the whole, therefore, their dwellings make a poor impression compared with those of the Buginese as well as with those of their kinsmen back home. The average number of occupants in one house is just a little lower than that in Bontoramba.

186 563 Just as for the Buginese in Makassarese country, the common language constitutes a unifying element for these colonists.

● 621 The tie with the group of relatives in the homeland is strong. Marriages with the new neighborhood associates are rare. The worship /60/ /61/ community is extremely weak, since all remain members of the worship community back home. Common residence and work in the same territory creates ties between its residents. The tie to the land is weak. The indigenous residents have control of the land. In individual cases a newcomer was able to obtain a piece of land,

/68 cont./ The provinces of South Celebes have made up a federation since 1948. The administration of this federation has been placed in the hands of an administrative council (Hadat Tinggi), and the princes of Bone and Goa respectively have become president and vice-president of this body. As a result, it is to be expected that the worship of the ornaments of these two realms will increase accordingly throughout the daërah.

/69/ In the Borongloë adat community two other ornaments are known in addition to the headman's ornament. For an adat community head, an ornament inside his region constitutes a potential threat. Only a related group which has an ornament has in effect the ability to act outwardly as a unit. And an ornament generally speaking is in the possession of a related group which in former times had a stronger position of power than it does at present. Stories concerning the old time of glory continue to live on, and each new generation awaits its chance to regain the old position of power.

[621] The two ornaments referred to are found in the kampongs of Borongrappo and Bontoa.

The relatives of a former adat community head of Borongloë, deposed in 1916, have their residence in Borongrappo. They kept their ornament. The successor, the father of the present-day head, was related to the Borongrappo group. At the same time he belonged to a group which possessed its own ornament. The latter became the ornament of the whole of Borongloë when the successor was raised to the headship. In 1939, on this occasion, a so-called purification ritual took place, and at that point the ornament of Borongrappo was brought to that of Borongloë. In the ritual, the virtual subordination of the former to the latter was made known by this procedure.

During the turbulent period from 1946 to 1947, the group of relatives at Bontoa ranged itself behind the adat community [726] head. As a sign of favorable inclination as well as of

634 /73/ The former adat community head, still a young man
612 in 1916, belonged to two groups of relatives which lived
621 together, one in Borongrappo, the other in Parang Banua.
When he became head in that year, the members of both
groups gladly regarded themselves as his kinsmen. For both
he was a very prominent kinsman to whom they preferred to
turn with requests for help and at whose festivals they liked to
[361] make their appearance. The kampong Parang Banua, where
the new head lived in the beginning, is separated from the rest
of the adat community by the Djene'berang River. It was
somewhat inaccessible. At the urging of the administration,
the head moved with a number of followers and kinsmen from
Parang Banua to kampong Borongkaluku, bordering on
Borongrappo. Others followed him later.

Now, about 30 years later, the adat community head with
a certain pride referred to all the residents of the three
kampongs, Borongkaluku, Borongrappo, and Parang Banua,
as his kinsmen. He permitted his children to marry kinsmen
from at least two of these groups.

571 A number of marriages have been contracted in the course
612 of the years between the Borongrappo and Borongkaluku groups
of relatives. There is regular contact between the two. A
number of houses belonging to people of Borongkaluku have
already been built close to those of Borongrappo. An integrated
related group, however, has not developed. The fact that the
[278] Borongrappo group kept its own ornament is probably one of the
most important reasons for this circumstance.

The group at Borongkaluku, which initially formed a unit
with that of Parang Banua, tends to form a separate group around
the adat community head. The tendency toward separation
is increased by the difficulty of communication across the
Djene'berang River. There are also signs that the maintenance
of existing ties is valued. The regular contracting of
marriages between the two is an example of this. The tie
[764] with the dead is another. A number of people who died were

793 /124 cont./ burial, and grave visits insofar as Moslem ritual must take place there.

602 793 The gurukampong therefore deals directly with the intimate kin-group life, and for that reason people prefer a kinsman to fulfill his function. A group of kinsmen living together in one kampong territory, in addition to the Kapala group, consequently has its own guru (1). In one kampong territory one finds,

> 1. In Bontoramba, the Mangenre group (18 houses) has its own guru. A number of other Buginese residing there are also helped by this man. The others, Makassarese, in cases when they require it, ask for help from the guru of the Kapala group.

therefore, in many cases one or even two gurus working for their own kin groups, in addition to the actual gurukampong. They try to enter into direct contact with the imam. This provides them with an independent position toward the guru of [622] the Kapala group. Sometimes (as in Bontoramba) the kapala permits this. The guru of the Kapala group must then content himself with that. But the kapala and his guru, as well as the imam, can oppose this attempt.

• 621 622 666 /125/ Where the Kapala group is not the only one in the kampong but by far and away the largest, a struggle can frequently be observed, even though it has not yet assumed any distinct form. Wherever two almost equally large groups live next to each other in a single territory, the struggle comes more clearly to the fore. An example of this is to be found at the election of a new kapala. Election takes place, according to the election regulation of 1927, by the majority of votes of the able-bodied men. The struggle is conducted, on the one hand, through attempts to attach the kampong residents who do not belong to either of the two competing groups of relatives to one's side; and, on the other hand, by strengthening the tie with the adat community head; or, if this is possible,

621 /125 cont./ by interesting a member of the high nobility in
622 the case. Their help is of importance because (although this
66L is not based upon the election regulation) sometimes they declare the ballot invalid, or else report afterward that only a test ballot had been held, in case the result did not agree with their wishes (1).

[648]

1. The 1927 regulation of the election of headmen is therefore not applied as was intended by the European administration which introduced it. Majority of votes is, according to Makassarese feelings, not sufficient in itself to capture the kapalaship. To this end, the consent of their own head is also required. This regulation, therefore, does not preclude arbitrary actions on the part of the higher people, but it does limit them.

622 The kapala can strengthen his position by establishing
662 a link with other kapala. The proved means of doing this is
634 to contract a marriage. But this action would immediately result in a power formation within the adat community, which the adat community head does not like to see. To an even greater degree this is the case if a kapala were to seek contact with a neighboring adat community head. Such an act would suggest a certain enmity toward the kapala's own /adat community/ head, for it is an immediate threat of defection from his own head to the neighboring head. Insofar as is known, the latter situation rarely occurred, because after 1905 these defections were no longer left to the free interplay of

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Malays AN5
Makassar 066
Javanese 0E5
Tenggerese 0E8
Mentawi 0D9

OB1 Indonesia OB1
Borneo OC1
Batak 0D5
Gorontolo 0G4
Moluccas 0H1
New Guinea 0J1

I Br 342 621 162 [66 cont.] average a man, woman, and two children, thus 600 persons, all belonging to one family [familie] (1). Not only among the

1. Bijdragen T.L. en Vk. v. Ned. Indië, 4th series, 5th part, p. 305. Perelaer, Ethnographische beschrijving der Dajaks, p. 128.

MO NG MI G Bt 342 621 591 Dajak, but also among the other uncivilized tribes one finds a number of family units living together in one great house, for example, among the Batak, the Alfoer of north Celebes (2), in

2. Riedel, Tijdschrift v. Ind. T.L. en Vk., Vol. XVIII, pp. 486 and 493.

T J MK I 342 621 174 591 the Moluccas, among the Papuans, and even among the so much more highly developed Malays on central Sumatra (3). One can

3. Verkerk Pistorius, op. cit., p. 40.

state that this way of living was formerly common. Among some peoples this situation has already given way to another in which each dwelling is the residence of only one family unit and consequently the houses are smaller, as among the Javanese, Bt Makassarese, Buginess, and others. On Java, too, however, a T number of family units undoubtedly lived together in a single Mt dwelling. As evidence for this, the living together custom is MI still found among the pagans of the Tengger Mountains.

Br I 342 As we have noted, the houses are very large. Two types can be distinguished: in the first place, the houses that are built lengthways; and, secondly, those that have been built sideways. Generally, however, they have the first form and are very long, but comparatively narrow. Among the Dajak, they may be 250 ells long, but only 20 to 30 ells wide. Boyle saw a house that was 1,000 feet (380 ells) long. This is also found

Now regarding the kampong itself: the name of the kampong is Bukaka and it is located in the wanua Tanette Riattang, which is under the Sulewatang Tanette Riattang. The Sulewatang Tanette Riattang lives in Watampone. He is different from the Aru Tanette Riattang, who has no wanua, but who is one of the central seven princes. The head of the kampong has the title Mado Bukaka. He is a fine fellow and seems like a better character than most of the bangsawan. His father and his father's father and so on back have headed the kampong for countless generations. He is not a noble, says the Sulewatang. The Sulewatang also says that his ramp is not "genuine". Council is held in neither kampong nor wanua. If there are legal proceedings in the kampong the Kepala kampong may call in a notable or two to help. If there is a legal case in the wanua, the Sulewatang Tanette Riattang will call in maybe three or four (never all) Kepala kampongs to help. If there is really a big legal case, it goes to the Hadat Tinggi in Watampone. There are fifteen Kepala kampongs in the wanua. In most of the kampongs there are several smaller kampongs (two, three, or more), somewhat like hamlets. The Sulewatang used the term lingkongan [circle]. 361 622 632 623 632 692 621 632

The next day we got down to the work involving a rough map and a ground plan. The kampong abuts on Watampone, indeed it is actually a continuation of it. Thus one side of the market street is Watampone and the other is the kampong. There are several stores on the kampong side. I asked if the Chinese there would say that they were living in the kampong. The answer was no, but that they would say they lived in Watampone. Thus it is a kind of false border. Also, the big, beautiful, new mosque of Watampone is within the kampong borders. But the kampong is evidently not too important and Watampone is in the same wanua, that is, in wanua Tanette Riattang. The kampong itself is the western-most of the kampongs in this wanua, and the western border goes along with the eastern border of wanua Palaka (kampong Tjabalu). On the north is wanua Awampone (kampong Tjelapa). On the east is another kampong, Ta, of wanua Tanette Riattang. And, of course, Watampone is to the south. As one enters the kampong of Bukaka coming from the main center of Watampone, one goes along the main street for four kilometers from south to north, from the Watampone border to Tjelapa. On entering Bukaka one sees the great mosque and the large house of an Arab, both structures being white and blue, an ironic combination. It is a great misfortune that Mohammedanism got in here. From the main road (the Kepala kampong's house is not far from the Watampone border) to 126 621 632 101 131 102

621 the border of wanua Palaka, kampong Tjabalu on the west, it is four kilometers also. This western part is thus a
632 square. On the east side of the road, along the Watampone
101 border, it is only six hundred meters along the street to
131 the Ta border. But then the east border sweeps eastward in
102 a long curve so that on the northern side along the border of Tjelapa, the northern border runs two kilometers from the main road. (See rough map, page 46, field notes)[P.266 here]

871 There are two schools in Bukaka, one a religious school
435 and the other a village school. They are near the Watampone
556 border on the main road, or just off it. There are also ten private Koran schools. There are about six hundred hadjis here. I met one, a smug young man. And I teased him about being one of the few rich men in town, but he said that it was perhaps, if the family resources were pooled, six thousand guilders. He remarked that ten thousand guilders was really a great fortune here. Incidentally, the Sulewatang said that the high figures given for the old days were somewhat off. Prices were overvalued.

131 In the wanua, running eastward to the sea from Bukaka, are
361 the kampongs Penyula and Ta side by side; then Paopao, Tibodjong (very small) and Tamaüsing, side by side; then Toro, Tjelu, Lapobatua, Biru, and Palingorung, all side by side (the latter two jut out to the south); then Badjoë and Maloi, side by side (the former on the sea, the latter juts out to the south); and finally, along the curve of the sea, Rompe. I forgot to say that these really do not jut out, as Watampone is also part of the wanua and it is to the south of Bukaka, Ta, Tamaüsing. Thus the appearance seems to be roughly that
621 of a triangle. Aside from Watampone, each of the fifteen kampongs has a kepala kampong. And within each of the kampongs there are varying numbers of hamlets. Thus Bukaka has three, Penyula has one, Ta three, Paopao two, Tibodjong one, Tamaüsing one, Lapobatua one. I could not get any information on the other kampongs, but will find out later. The biggest kampongs, in order, are: Tjelu, Bukaka, Badjoë. Others are small. Bukaka is the oldest.

368 The big misigit [mesjid, mosque] is used by Bukaka, Ta, and Watampone. Other kampongs having misigit are: Penyula, Badjoë, Paopao, Lapobatua, and Palingorung, thus there are six in all.

632 In Bone, Andi says, there are twenty-one wanua. Seven
5105 are ruled by aru, and fourteen by sulewatang. He says, however, that they are of equal rank. Aside from the aru wanua there are the Aru Pitu, and this tells the story.

000 Mission, Timor. He said that the Catholics have a great organization, and that they do not force Christianity. They do not try to change the habits and clothing of the people. They tell the natives to do as they wish, and change as they please. But the Protestants force changes in clothing, tell them that they are damned if they do not change, etc. On Flores, west of Endeh, the Jesuits have worked far up into the mountains. They had a printing press in Endeh. They also have model farms, including a dairy. They train and educate the young, for example, they have trained the best agricultural man in Timor. He is a native priest who was sent to Wageningen, and then on his return was put into the governmental service. He pays rich returns because he is in the intimate councils of the government and knows all about the radjas, etc. Thus, by clever work, the Catholics have gained much control. Timor is not so good, as it is more influenced by the Protestants. This, of course, is the opinion of van der Wetering (whose views I do not always trust, but he may have something here). He said the system of the Jesuits is that when they start a mission they get money for five years. After that it must be self-supporting. And according to him it usually is.

565 567 Balombaru: Classes existed (exist?) within the slave group too, and it is not the usual hereditary as against new slave idea, but rather that a slave of a noble feels superior to a slave of a commoner, and all grades in between. Thus, as I suppose is the case with servants in England, if you are a maid of a duchess you feel superior to the maid of a baroness. Thus the class idea ramifies, and pangkat is the essence of the whole social functioning.

175 743 Balombaru: September 3, 1949. Fourth day: First I went to the leprosarium to give my books to the nurse. She told me about some awful Javan atrocities after the Japanese defeat in Surabaja. They even shot into the hospital from trees. The idea seemed to her to be to kill all white people.

181 621 743 She [i.e., the head nurse at the Balombaru leper asylum--Analyst] said that the natives have no initiative, though there is more evidence of some form of initiative here than in Java. She divided the colony into three kampongs. Each with an elected kepala kampong. They come to her only if they cannot settle cases.

M 565 Then there are four classes known together as merdeka, that is freemen.

7. tjera - anam
8. tjera - tudju
9. now no more
10. also now no more

M [567] Then from eleven on there are many kinds of slaves known as ata or hamba. And, slaves might have slaves! Thus there is rank even among the slaves.

M 565 554 The terms of address are: for radja, petah; and this term is used down to the fourth class of nobles, that of the tjera-tiga. For the fifth class, that is tjera-ampat, the term daeng is used and for the sixth class of nobles, that of the tjera-lima, the term pua. However, he said there was much variation, and that petah is used even among commoners. He said that the situation is even worse in the Makassarese area, where daeng, he said, means nothing any more as many people without particular rank in the noble classes use it. In the kampong there are three subdivisions known as kampong ketjil: Bukaka, Tolangi, and Walena. There are four assistants known as seriang: three in Bukaka and one in Walena. There are five representatives known as wakil. They are like police.

M 621 624 625

C 631 I asked about the whole structure of the East Indonesian government and his uncertain statements went something like this: First is the negara [state, i.e., of East Indonesia]. The president is Sukawati, the premier, Anak Agung. There is then the Senate.

C [635] Second, there is the Daerah Sulawesi Selatan [District of South Celebes], at the head of which is the Ketua hadat tinggi (Arumpone). Then comes the Hadat tinggi comprised of fifteen radjas. From these a working committee of five members is formed. And finally there is the Dewan Sulawesi Selatan [South Celebes Council] consisting of four representatives from Bone.

C [634] Then there is the landschap [province], which makes the third division. The organization is as above and the Aru Pitu, the seven princes, are like a cabinet. They do not have a parliament yet but they have had elections and will soon sit. This body is called the Dewan Pertimbangan, consisting of twenty-one representatives.

The fourth cut is that of the wanua, with the thirty-one kepala wanua.

Finally, as the fifth division we have the kampong, headed by the kepala kampong and the assistant or seriang.

The new radja, chosen from [a certain] family, is selected

797 for himself. Could this be a case of railroading? My
831 guess is that this kind of behavior would not be noticed if
he were not a Christian leader. I must ask Rahim.
162 [for author's comments on these census figures see
621 p. 198, category 116--Analyst]
565

STATISTICS FOR BUKAKA

A. Bukaka, a Buginese Kampong Adjoining Watampone

Total population	1960
Total households	270
Per household	7.26
Males	959
Females	1001
Sex ratio	96.0
Total children	1089 (male 548, female 541)
Minor children	792 (male 408, female 384)
Ratio of children to adult	1.25
Minor children to adult	0.68
Children per household	4.02
Minor children per household	3.34

B. Class of Household Heads

To Detjeng (lower nobles)	46
To Samar (commoners) (included are 14 entered as "unknown," but Andi says they are very probably all commoners)	194
Slave	1
Chinese	10
Arab	14
Javanese	5
Total	270

162 C. Polygyny of Household Heads
565

Number of wives	Class	Trade
3 (2)	1 Arab	1 merchant
	1 noble	1 tailor
2 (8)	2 noble	2 smith
	2 Arab	1 merchant
	4 commoner	1 trader
		1 goldsmith
		1 chauffeur
		1 government employee (messenger)
		1 toothmaker
Totals 10	10	10

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia
Ambon OH4
Bali OF7
Makassar OG6

except for the surviving nuclear families, or lineages, which maintain possession of groves of trees. These have in some instances been converted into arbitrarily formed land-owning units by reason of European or "negory" authority.

9. *The gaukang.*—In South Celebes there is an interesting institution known as the "gaukang" (also as kalompoan and arajang). This is the representation and symbolization of the vital spirit or soul of a regional community in a particular object of supernatural qualities.[22] The original fetish could be a stone, a gnarled branch, a flag, lance, plow or some other object. Later on, other elaborate accessories were sometimes added to the original one, and in some instances these secondary fetishes became substituted in the place of the original.

In breaking off from a parent, new communities became independent in their own right, even though they had no fetishes of their own. They did, however, remain second-rate in general status. Even in the Mandar states, where patrilineal sub-clans are described as being groups of importance, the communities are territorial, as elsewhere. The governor is the guardian of the fetish. There is great variety in the names and functions of the assistants and subchiefs. Originally each fetishistic community had its own council (hadat), and although war and the principalities, alliances and Dutch administration have had a great deal of influence on South Celebes social organization, underneath it all the regional community is the cell and primal form of social structure.

10. *The Balinese desa.*—The "desa," as the villages of Bali are called, is a community based purely on geographical contiguity. It is true that a kinship relation does bind the little-known religious societies of Bali together, but the members of these cults are scattered throughout a number of villages, and their function is limited to the joint worship of a deified progenitor and the maintenance of a temple for him. The reckonig of the relationship is patrilineal, except for some "old style" desa.[23]

The "desa" is a community which depends in the first place upon a common duty and will to keep the village grounds clean for the gods, and to carry on the sacrifices and other religious ceremonies called for by custom. There is considerable variation between the

[22] [The Dutch call this social complex "het ornamentschap." This would have to be translated "ornamentship." In English, a more effective equivalent would be "community fetishism."]

[23] [The distinction between "old" and "new" style desa is described by van Vollenhoven, *Adatrecht*, vol. I, pp. 464ff.]